

776 out with a bow and arrow in his hand, and as he danced in front
535 of the spectators he pretended to shoot at them.

In another dance he represented *Ele*, the lightning. He sat on a stone that had been placed in the middle of the open space, swinging his arms to the time of the chorus, and every now and then shaking his leg.

This observation is an important one in several ways. Although I asked the man to repeat it, in order that I might make fuller notes and obtain explanations of many obscure points, and although he grudgingly said that he would, yet he did not do so. He was, moreover, very reserved over the matter, and not very willing to talk about his own performance.

I believe that the performance was an entirely exceptional affair. I never at any other time either saw or heard of one man or even several men, giving a dance for the amusement of others. I think that the whole thing was entirely the invention of the performer. He had given the same performance, or one very similar, at least once before the occasion on which I saw it.

We may now turn to the Andamanese beliefs relating to the soul and the life after death.

761 The vital principle is at different times identified by the
775 Andamanese with the pulse, the breath, with the blood and with
766 the fat, particularly the kidney-fat. Thus the body of a slain enemy is burnt so that the blood and fat may be consumed in smoke and ascend to the sky where they will no longer be a danger to those who have slain him.

822 The nearest approach to our notion of a soul that the natives
828 possess is their belief concerning the double or reflection seen in
774 a mirror. In the Northern tribes the word *ot-jumulo* means "reflection," and also "shadow," and is also nowadays applied to a photograph. The word *ot-jumu*, in the same languages, means "a dream" or "to dream." We may perhaps translate the word *ot-jumulo* as meaning "soul." In the *Aka-Bea* language *ot-yolo* is "reflection," while there is a different word, *ot-diya* or *ot-lere*, for "shadow," and neither of the words has any connection with the word "dream" which is *taraba*. Mr Man translates the word *ot-yolo* as "soul."

III]

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

167

The fact that the words for dream and reflection, double or shadow are from the same root in the Northern languages is of interest. Dreams are sometimes explained by saying that the sleeper's double (*ot-jumulo*) has left his body and is wandering elsewhere. Dreams are regarded as being veridical, or at any rate, as having importance. One man told me how, in a dream the night before, his *ot-jumulo* had travelled from where we were to his own country and had there seen the death of the baby of a woman of his own tribe. He was fully convinced that the baby must really have died.

An Andamanese will never, or only with the very greatest reluctance, awaken another from sleep. One explanation of this that was given to me was that the *ot-jumulo* or double of the sleeper may be wandering far from his body, and to waken him suddenly might cause him to be ill.

The principle on which dreams are interpreted is a very simple one. All unpleasant dreams are bad, all pleasant ones are good. The natives believe that sickness is often caused by dreams. A man in the early stages of an attack of fever, for instance, may have a bad dream. When the fever develops he explains it as due to the dream. If a man has a painful dream he will often not venture out of the camp the following day, but will stay at home until the effect has worn off. The natives believe that they can communicate in dreams with the spirits, but the power to do this regularly is the privilege of certain special individuals, known as *oko-jumu* (dreamers). However, an ordinary individual may occasionally have dreams of this kind.

I found that any attempt to study the dreams of such a people as the Andamanese is made very difficult by the fact that it is never possible to tell how far the original dream has been arranged and altered by the waking imagination. So far as my observations went the majority of dreams are either visual or motor, or both. Further reference to dreams will be made later in connection with magic.

When a man or woman dies the double (or as some of the natives explain it, the breath) leaves the body and becomes a spirit (*lau* or *éauga*). By death a man ceases to exist as a man, and begins a new existence as a spirit.

828 ●
774

[513]

787
828

775

associated with *Puluga* or *Biliku*. All the versions that I heard, 775
however, referred to the past and not to the future¹.

The Andamanese speak of unconsciousness as "death," and 761
regard a person who has been unconscious for some time as 828 ●
having been dead and returned to life again. I was once told
that an old man in the village was "dead" and found him in a
state of coma from which he recovered and lived for several days.
There are stories of persons having returned to life even after
they have been buried. One such tale was told me in the North
Andaman. A man died and was buried. As his friends and
relatives, after packing up their belongings, were leaving the
camp in their canoes, the man's voice was heard calling. His
wife and mother turned back and met him and took him in their
canoe. He lived for some time after this and then he died and
was buried again. Again the same thing happened, the dead
man re-appearing just as they were setting off in their canoes
from the camp that they were deserting on account of his death.
Finally the man died a third time. When he was buried this
time the men dug a very deep hole some distance from the
camp, and then hurried back to the camp and hastily gathered
up their belongings and left it. Nothing more was seen of
the dead man, but when, after the lapse of some months, they
went to dig up the bones, they found the mat and leaves and
rope in which the corpse had been bound, but there were
no bones.

Amongst the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman I found 761
a belief that the soul of a dying man goes out with the ebbing 775
tide.

There are, amongst the Andamanese, certain individuals who 756
are distinguished from their fellows by the supposed possession 791
of supernatural powers. These specially favoured persons

¹ It may be noted that in the Andamanese languages there is no future tense of the verb, and it is often very difficult to know whether a speaker is referring to the present or to the future. Further, although there is a past tense, a native often uses the present tense in a narrative relating to the past, so that a statement relating to the past and one relating to the future may have exactly the same grammatical form. Mr Ellis, writing in the *Journal of the Philological Society* (1882) from information supplied by Mr Man, gives a verbal suffix *-ngabo* denoting the future in the *Aka-Bea* language. Mr Portman points out that this is an error. (*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman*, p. 88.)

III]

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

177

he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a medicine-man. One man of the *Aka-Kera* tribe was pointed out to me as having obtained his powers in this way. It would seem that during a serious illness he was unconscious for some twelve hours or so, and his friends thought that he was dead. A medicine-man whom I met with in the *A-Pucikwar* tribe was said to have died and come to life again three times. Another man, whom I did not meet, was described to me as a great *oko-jumu*, and from the description given it seemed to me that he was subject to epileptic fits. As against this, however, Mr Man states that "epilepsy is a recognised form of malady, but the fits are not regarded in a superstitious light".

Another way in which a man can acquire magical powers is by direct communication with the spirits. A man who died a few years ago was believed by the natives to have once met with some spirits in the jungle, and to have acquired in this way the powers of an *oko-jumu*. He used to go off into the jungle by himself at intervals and hold communication with the spirits with whom he had made friends. From such a visit he had returned with his head decorated with shredded palm-leaf fibre (*kegro*) which had, so he said, been placed on him by the spirits. This man had a reputation as a powerful *oko-jumu*.

In a less degree the powers of an *oko-jumu* may be obtained through dreams. It is believed that certain men have the power of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such men are *oko-jumu*. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are in any way extraordinary, particularly if, in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.

A man may claim some degree of magical power, and yet his claims may not be recognized by others. Each *oko-jumu* has to make his own reputation, and to sustain it when made. This he can only do by demonstrating his power to others. Once this reputation is his, he not only receives the respect of others but also makes a considerable personal profit. Every one is anxious to be on good terms with one who is believed to

¹ Man, *op. cit.* p. 83.

756 have extraordinary powers. Hence a man who is an acknowledged
791 *oko-jumu* is sure to receive a good share of the game caught by
others, and presents of all kinds from those who seek his good-
will.

756 As the name implies, and in whatever way his power may have
791 been obtained, an *oko-jumu* is privileged to dream in a way that
• 828 less favoured persons do not. In his dreams he can communicate
787 with the spirits of the dead. In dreams, also, so the natives say,
755 he is able to cause the illness of an enemy or to cure that of a
friend.

By his communication with the spirits, in dreams, or in
waking life, the *oko-jumu* acquires magical knowledge that he is
able to turn to account in curing illness and in preventing bad
weather. When a person is ill the *oko-jumu* is often consulted
as to the best means of treating the patient. His treatment
is often limited to the recommendation, or the application, of
some one or other of the recognized remedies. He may under-
take to dispel the spirits that are supposed to be the cause
of the disease, which he does by addressing them and conjuring
them to go away, or by the use of one or other of the substances
and objects that are believed to have the power of keeping
spirits at a distance. Sometimes the *oko-jumu* will promise
to cure the patient by means of dreams. It is believed that in
his dreams he can communicate with the spirits and can
persuade them to help him to cure the sick person.

791 Besides their power of causing or curing sickness, the
821 *oko-jumu* are credited with being able to control the weather.
756 As has been shown, the Andamanese believe that the weather is
under the control of two beings named *Biliku* and *Tarai*. There
is, however, an alternative and contradictory belief, which is also
held, that the weather is controlled by the spirits, and particularly
by those of the sea. The means taken by magicians or others
to prevent bad weather can be divided into two kinds according
as they are directed against *Biliku* or *Tarai*, or against the
spirits of the sea. As an example of the very simple rites
which are performed for this purpose, two cases may be quoted.
One of the *oko-jumu* of the Northern tribes, now dead, once
stopped a very violent storm by crushing between two stones

X 182
774
828

The Andaman Islander seems to regard the dream-world as a world of shadows or reflections, for he uses the same word to denote a shadow, a reflection in a mirror, and a dream (the stem *-jumu* in *Aka-Jeru*). Now when a man enters this shadow-world in sleep he is, as we have seen, conceived as coming into partial contact with the world of spirits. Hence the Andaman Islander believes that in dreams he may communicate with the spirits, that dreams may be a cause of sickness, and that in dreams a medicine-man can cause or cure sickness in his fellows. In this shadow-world the man himself becomes as it were a shadow, a mere reflection of himself; it is not he that lives and acts in his dreams but his *ot-jumulo*, his double, his shadow-self, or, as we might say, his soul. It is but a step from this to the representation of the spirit-world as a similar world of shadows and dream-shapes, and to the conclusion that when a man dies it is his *ot-jumulo* that becomes the spirit.

X 182
775

To summarise the argument, the belief in the world of spirits rests on the actual fact that a dead person continues to affect the society. As the effect is one of disorganisation, whereby the social sentiments are wounded, the dead are avoided and the spirits are regarded with fear. But as a recently dead person is still regarded with feelings of attachment by his friends, the resulting final attitude towards the spirits is ambivalent. By a simple step the spirits come to be regarded as the cause of sickness and death, and therefore as hostile to living men. Yet, as the beliefs about medicine-men show, it is possible for exceptional individuals to be on terms of friendship with the spirits. Finally, the dream-life affords a means by which the spirit-world may be represented in a simple and concrete manner. This last feature (the association of the spirits with dreams) I believe to be a secondary elaboration of the primary or fundamental belief which shows itself in the ritual of death and mourning, serving only to rationalise it and make it more concrete. This need of concrete representation of the spirit-world shows itself in other beliefs, in which may be seen the tendency to become self-contradictory that is often the mark of ideas that arise as the result of attempts to rationalise conative and affective impulses. The spirits are, on the one hand, as it were shadows or images

documented the fact in a number of photographs. The purpose, however, is purely hygienic. an unpainted body is, in their opinion, exposed to certain illness. They explained this belief to me by saying that without paint the body becomes "hot". The men who travelled with me far from women were anxious every day to spread clay on face, chest and limbs, just to avoid "heat" or, in other words, fever. I thought of malaria, but they do not suffer from it. Of this I will speak later on.

Rough clay is applied daily, on infant bodies as well as on adults, for health purposes. It is used to cure all kinds of sickness, together with ochre, turtle fat and honey. Honey spread on wounds appears to hasten healing. Identical curative methods are employed in Oceania. They probably existed among the Tasmanians, and are still used in Australia by the aborigines. I found nothing of the kind in Africa, where honey is plentiful. The Onge consider clay, ochre, honey and turtle fat good for external and internal treatment alike both preventive and curative. Powdered bees' wax of a dark colour is often added. I saw mothers give their children, as a laxative, a number of pills made of similar ingredients. No bigger than common hazelnuts, the pills are red and greasy. In Onge forests I saw some small excavations, a few feet deep, made to extract the medicinal clay from special ground pockets. In its natural form the clay is light coloured, powdery and free of stones. When it is burnt the colour changes, assuming red, yellow, whitish or black shades according to the different qualities used, all believed to possess healing properties and to ensure hygienic colouring of the body. Mixed as described above, clay is used by the Onge in every circumstance from fever to snake or scorpion bite, constipation, breast infection in women, or post-delivery bleeding.

Belief in the medicinal properties of clay is as old as humanity itself. Even among contemporary European peoples, notwithstanding severe criticism, clay is still honoured as health-giving, not, I must say, on wholly foolish grounds. The Onge, who smear their bodies constantly with clay, have the softest, most velvety skin that I ever saw anywhere in the world. Wounds spread with clay mixed with honey and fat leave negligible scars. The laxative and germ-killing action of clay is admitted by physicians in many countries, including Europe. It never causes infection. Geophagism has ancient origins, and we find it practiced by many modern populations. Children of every race and all young wild animals lick clay instinctively to absorb the mineral salts required by a developing organism. The Onge habit of using clay for healing purposes can be set, therefore, in a very wide frame.

Mental and nervous disorders are rare in Little Andaman. Few natives are subject to epilepsy - an important matter for the Onge: they consider such people as possessed by spirits who speak through their mouths, and respectfully question them as oracles. Several Onge chiefs, such as Chief Tchôtâ of Tambê-ê-buiê, are apt to go into trances that have all the appearance of epileptic fits. They were elected chiefs on the strength of their epilepsy! Constant exercise keeps eyesight and hearing extremely sharp in the Onge. I saw no single case of myopia or presbyopia among the natives, nor